1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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291 ship, recognized the women by their skirts. Women's waist cloths are represented as long in the drawings of La Pérouse and Choris. The waist cloth may sometimes have passed between the legs and become a *maro*. Poor women substituted mats for tapa, for Palmer (168, p. 280) mentions as a woman's garment "a petticoat of grass matting, which reached to the ankles."

A tale alludes to a *taura-renga*, "a belt stained with turmeric" that is removed before a woman beats and soaks tapa cloth. The stone image in the British Museum is said to have been adorned by such a belt; supposedly a rite in which this belt played a part was performed in the presence of the statue. Brown's statement to this effect (27, p. 112) was denied by the very informant who was alleged to have told it to him.

Cloaks

The most conspicuous native garments, worn by both men and women, were the large painted robes (*kahu, nua*) that were thrown over the shoulders and covered the back. These cloaks, made of small sheets of tapa sewn together, were tied in front of the neck or over the right shoulder with a knot or a string (145, p. 66; 130, pl. 11). Sometimes wearers joined "the edges of the cloak by holding them together in their hands and thus draped themselves according to their taste and the length of the cloth" (230, vol. 5, p. 664; see also 49, pl. 11, fig. 2).

291 Robes were stained yellow or orange with turmeric. The ones on which
386 the dye was spread by spitting the turmeric were called *kahu roroi*. Roggeveen (186, p. 13), who erroneously supposed these colors to be mineral, remarks that the dye was not fast "for when felt about and handled one finds the colour comes off on one's fingers, not only after touching new articles but also from old and worn ones." The painted border of a *nua* was called *pakipaki*. Some cloaks were particularly famous for their quality and the beauty of their stain. Tradition has it that when Tuu-ko-ihu coveted such a robe, which was worn by a warrior, he succeeded in getting it through magic.

291 Cloaks varied in length according to the status of the individual; those of
594 chiefs fell down to the knees. However, cloaks were more commonly worn
556 by women than by men, for whom they generally expressed wealth. Ancient clothing had already been discarded when Geiseler (87, p. 29) was told that the making of these robes required so much work that they were extremely valuable and that only the chiefs and kings could afford to wear them. Though this tradition is exaggerated and probably refers only to the large and beautiful cloaks, it explains why the use of this garment was not general. The best
291 tapa robe in existence is kept in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge (64850). This specimen, 1.69 by 1.21 cm., is formed of three layers of tapa sheets sewn

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304 114 tattooed man during his visit to Easter Island, but his drawing is inaccurate in many details. The artist of Du Petit-Thouars' expedition (65, pl. 44) drew a man and a woman, both partially tattooed. The accurate portraits of tattooed Easter Islanders by Pierre Loti (145, pp. 66-68) and the more schematic designs by Thomson (215, p. 466, fig. 4, *a-b*) have contributed to the preservation of knowledge about tattooing. In 1911 Knoche (123, pl. 13, p. 160) drew the last Easter Island woman with elaborate designs on her body. A few years later, Routledge (194, p. 219) was obliged to depend on the memories of the old men for analysis of ancient motifs. The reconstruction of ancient tattooing made for her by Tepano is not inaccurate but simplified and purely schematic. The wooden images can be used in the reconstruction of the old tattooing patterns; the oldest ones generally have a human figure carved in relief on the top of the head. An attentive examination reveals conventionalized tattooing motifs incised on the faces of these figures.

304 In the following analysis of the various Easter Island tattoo motifs, the most elaborate design for each region of the body is used as a basis. Information from literature is used to complete descriptions or to emphasize the persistence of fundamental motifs, which were repeated on all individuals, both male and female, and were faithfully preserved from one generation to the next. Geiseler (87, p. 36) contradicts evidence when he writes: "We looked for a constant pattern, which we were unable to find. Everyone had different signs. The persons which were shown to us as being the chiefs were the most tattooed, but their motifs were also different." It is true, however, that personal taste varied the general patterns. Perhaps different tribes or subtribes had favorite designs, but in general the selected motifs depended on patterns. Even Geiseler admits that certain designs were more common than others.

Extent of Tattooing

Tattooing is mentioned by nearly every voyager who touched at Easter Island. Though there were probably differences between the motifs used by men and by women, the features noticed by early observers are common to both. There is no way of determining the variations in designs for the two sexes. However, Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 290) says that the women, in contrast to men, were only slightly marked.

It appears from the reports of early travelers that the extent of tattooing varied with individuals. In the greater number, tattooing was confined to small surfaces of the body (15, vol. 1, p. 53). Kotzebue (127, p. 140) noticed that "they were all tattooed and those who are over the whole body have the appearance of chiefs." This remark is probably correct as full tattooing in Polynesia is, as a rule, an expression of wealth.

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